

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 EA-07 IO-11 SAJ-01 ISO-00 ACDA-05 CIAE-00

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INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

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USMISSION USBERLIN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

USMISSION GENEVA

USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

AMCONSUL LENINGRAD

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMCONSUL MUNICH

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

/USLO PEKING 714

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MOSCOW 3072

E.O. 11652: GDS

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SUBJECT: 25TH CONGRESS: THE THIRD DAY

REF: MOSCOW 2999

1. SUMMARY. THIS CABLE SUMMARIZES THE EVENTS OF THE CONGRESS' THIRD DAY, FEBRUARY 26, AND GIVES HIGHLIGHTS OF SPEECHES BY CPSU OFFICIALS. THE FOREIGN CP SPEECHES WILL BE REPORTED SEPARATELY. END SUMMARY.

2. THE FEBRUARY 26 SESSION OF THE CONGRESS, CHAIRED BY PODGORNYY, FEATURED SPEECHES BY (A) REGIONAL PARTY LEADERS S.F. MEDUNOV (KRASNODAR KRAYKOM FIRST SECRETARY), G.A. ALIFYEV (AZERBAYDZHANI FIRST SECRETARY), YA. P. RYABOV (SVERDLOVSK OBKOM FIRST SECRETARY), A.V. GEORGIYEV (ALTAYSKIY KRAYKOM FIRST SECRETARY), A. YE. VOSS (LATVIAN FIRST SECRETARY), AND T.U. USUBALIYEV (KIRGIZ FIRST SECRETARY); (B) GOVERNMENT FIGURES A.P. ALEKSANDROV (PRESIDENT OF THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES) AND L.A. KOSTANDOV (MINISTER OF THE CHEMICAL INDUSTRY); (C) FOREIGN GUESTS CUNHAL, KADAR, ZHIVKOV, CEAUSESCU, TSEDENBAL, AND GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE "NATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY PARTY" OF LAOS KAYSONE PHOMVIHAN; AND (D) SEVERAL RANK AND FILE PARTY MEMBERS.

3. A LARGE DELEGATION OF YOUNG PIONEERS STREAMED INTO THE PALACE OF CONGRESSES AT 5:00 P.M.--THE EVENT WAS CARRIED LIVE ON SOVIET TELEVISION--BEARING FLOWERS FOR THE PARTY LEADERSHIP. AS ONE LITTLE GIRL DELIVERED HER MEMORIZED SPEECH PRAISING BEZHNEV, THE LATTER APPEARED TO BE ON THE VERGE OF TEARS.

4. WE HIGHLIGHT BELOW THOSE CPSU LEADERSHIP SPEECHES WHICH WERE CARRIED IN THE PRESS FEBRUARY 27. THESE INCLUDE SEVERAL SPEECHES MADE TWO DAYS AGO WHICH DID NOT APPEAR IN THE PRESS UNTIL TODAY. THE SPEECHES OF VOSS, USUBALIYEV, AND KOSTANDOV WERE NOT PUBLISHED TODAY BUT PRESUMABLY WILL APPEAR TOMORROW.

5. OVERALL, UNLIKE THE FIRST GROUP OF SPEECHES (REFTEL), THE CURRENT BATCH IS LESS SUSCEPTIBLE TO GROUP CONTENT ANALYSIS. RASHIDOV ASKED FOR APPROVAL OF LARGE-SCALE DEVELOPMENTAL PROJECTS FOR UZBEKISTAN AND CONDED THE EFFECTIVENESS OF FOREIGN PROPAGANDA AIMED AT THE USSR'S NATIONALITY POLICY. ALIYEV OF AZERBAYDIZHAN SAID NOTHING WORTHY OF COMMENT. SHEVERDNADZE, ON THE OTHER HAND, PROVED WILLING TO DISCUSS ABSOLUTELY EVERYTHING--THE MORE SENSITIVE THE BETTER--AND WITH A STYLE AND ORIGINALITY REMARKABLE FOR A SOVIET LEADER. PRESIDENT ALEKSANDROV OF THE USSR ACADEMY OF SCIENCES ARGUED ELOQUENTLY FOR THE CAUSE OF PURE SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH AS THE ACADEMY'S PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY. THE SPEAKERS OF THE SECOND RANK, OF THE OBKOM AND KRAYKOM LEVEL, TENDED TO SET THEIR SIGHTS LOWER, ALTHOUGH S.F. MEDUNOV OF KRASNODAR KRAYKOM TOOK A TOUGH LINE OF MAOISM, WHILE YA. P. RYABOV OF THE SVERDLOVSK OBKOM FOCUSED ON THE WORK OF THE CENTRAL PARTY ORGANS, THOUGH WITHOUT MAKING ANY SIGNIFICANT REVELATIONS. ON TWO OCCASIONS, BREZHNEV UNEXPECTEDLY INTERRUPTED SPEAKERS (ALEKSANDROV, REGARDING THE FLU; AND MEDUNOV, REGARDING PRODUCTION OF RICE) IN A STYLE REMINISCENT OF KHRUSHCHEV.

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TIVE THE BETTER--AND WITH A STYLE AND ORIGINALITY REMARKABLE FOR A SOVIET LEADER. PRESIDENT ALEKSANDROV OF THE USSR ACADEMY OF SCIENCES ARGUED ELOQUENTLY FOR THE CAUSE OF PURE SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH AS THE ACADEMY'S PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY. THE SPEAKERS OF THE SECOND RANK, OF THE OBKOM AND KRAYKOM LEVEL, TENDED TO SET THEIR SIGHTS LOWER, ALTHOUGH S.F. MEDUNOV OF KRASNODAR KRAYKOM TOOK A TOUGH LINE OF MAOISM, WHILE YA. P. RYABOV OF THE SVERDLOVSK OBKOM FOCUSED ON THE WORK OF THE CENTRAL PARTY ORGANS, THOUGH WITHOUT MAKING ANY SIGNIFICANT REVELATIONS. ON TWO OCCASIONS, BREZHNEV UNEXPECTEDLY INTERRUPTED SPEAKERS (ALEKSANDROV, REGARDING THE FLU; AND MEDUNOV, REGARDING PRODUCTION OF RICE) IN A STYLE REMINISCENT OF KHRUSHCHEV.

6. SH. R. RASHIDOV, FIRST SECRETARY OF UZBEKISTAN CP: RASHIDOV'S SPEECH WAS ALMOST ENTIRELY PREOCCUPIED BY PAROCHIAL CONCERNS OF DEVELOPING UZBEKISTAN'S ECONOMY; IT PRAISED BRZHNEV WITH ORIENTAL EXTRAVAGANCE, BUT FAILED TO MENTION BREZHNEV'S PEACE PROGRAM. IN ENUMERATING THE PERSONAL QUALITIES OF BREZHNEV, RASHIDOV INCLUDED HIGH MODESTY, BRILLIANT TALENT, SPIRITUAL BEAUTY, AND PERSONAL CHARM. HE THEN BRISKLY PROCEEDED TO PLEAD THE SPECIAL NEEDS OF UZBEKISTAN: HE ASKED GOSPLAN AND THE USSR COUNCIL OF MINISTERS TO RENDER A FAVORABLE DECISION ON THE PROPOSAL TO EXPAND THE ALMALYK MINING AND METALLURGICAL COMBINE; AND THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS TO APPROVE RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENTAL WORK ON THE DISCOVERY OF NEW WATER SOURCES AND ON THE PROJECT TO DIVERT THE FLOW OF SIBERIAN RIVERS TOWARD THE ARAL SEA AND CENTRAL ASIA.

7. IN HIS ONLY REFERENCE TO INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, RASHIDOV COMPLAINED THAT IMPERIALIST AND MAOIST PROPAGANDA OF SLANDER AGAINST THE SOVIET NATIONALITY POLICY WAS SUCCEEDING IN INFLUENCING "A FEW IMMATURE PEOPLE." THIS REQUIRED MORE INTENSIVE POLITICAL PROPAGANDA TO STRENGTHEN THE FRATERNAL SOLIDARITY OF SOVIET NATIONALITIES, WHERE ALL PEOPLES ARE EQUAL AND WHERE "THE ELDER BROTHER IS THE GREAT RUSSIAN PEOPLE."

8. E.A. SHEVARDNADZE, FIRST SECRETARY OF GEORGIAN CP: OF ALL THE SPEECHES DELIVERED AT THE CONGRESS THUS FAR, SHEVARDNADZE'S WAS WITHOUT DOUBT THE MOST INTERESTING, COLORFUL AND QUOTABLE. IT REVEALED SHEVARDNADZE AS POSSESSING A STRONG PERSONALITY, AN AUDACIOUS, SUBTLE MIND, AND AN OUTRAGEOUSLY EXTRAVAGANT, PUNGENT CONFIDENTIAL

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STYLE--ABOVE ALL, A MAN SURE OF HIMSELF AND HIS POSITION. ALMOST, BUT NOT QUITE LOST AMONG THE ENTERTAINMENT, WERE SOME SERIOUS SUBSTANTIVE POINTS.

9. SHEVARDNADZE SEEMED TO RELISH THE OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS AT LENGTH SENSITIVE SUBJECTS LIKE THE STATUS OF PERSONAL FREEDOM IN THE USSR, OR THE INCLINATIONS OF GEORGIANS TO WHEEL AND DEAL, OR THE TOUCHY RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CENTRAL AND REPUBLIC ECONOMIC ORGANIZATIONS. SHEVARDNADZE:

--OBSERVED, APROPOS HIS ELOQUENT DEFENSE OF SOCIALIST FREEDOMS, THAT "EVEN AMONG SOME OF OUR FRIENDS IT HAS BECOME FASHIONABLE OF LATE TO DISCUSS SHORTCOMINGS IN THE SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY OF THE USSR;"

--HAD THE CHUTZPAH TO CLAIM THAT GEORGIA REQUESTED THAT THE PROJECTED INCREASE FOR ITS INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT IN THE TENTH FIVE-YEAR PLAN BE RAISED FROM THE TARGETED 35-37 0/0 TO 37-41 0/0;

--DESCRIBED A NEW METHOD DEVELOPED BY GEORGIANS FOR DEALING WITH MINISTRIES AND AGENCIES AT THE CENTER WHICH FAIL TO COME THROUGH WITH PROMISED COMMITMENTS: INSTEAD OF CRITICIZING THEM FOR PAST FAILURES, WHICH MAKES EVERYBODY MAD AND DOES NO GOOD, HE WAS

AUTHORIZED TO EXPRESS HIS GRATITUDE "AS ADVANCE PAYMENT" TO GOSPLAN USSR AND THE VARIOUS UNION MINISTRIES FOR THE FUTURE FULFILLMENT OF THEIR COMMITMENTS, AND THEN NAMED THE MINISTERS--BUTOMA (SHIP-BUILDING INDUSTRY), KOSTOUSOV (MACHINE TOOL AND MACHINE TOOL BUILDING), DOYENIN (MACHINE BUILDING FOR LIGHT AND FOOD INDUSTRY), ZHIGELIN (HEAVY, POWER, AND TRANSPORT MACHINE BUILDING), RUDNEV (INSTRUMENT MAKING, AUTOMATION AND CONTROL SYSTEMS), NOVOSELOV (CONSTRUCTION, ROAD AND MUNICIPAL MACHINE BUILDING), AND "ES-PECIALLY COMRADE GRISHMANOV" (CONSTRUCTION MATERIALS INDUSTRY)--TO WHOM HE WAS ESPECIALLY GRATEFUL. ABSENT FROM THE TEXT WAS THE SARCASM PRESENT IN HIS DELIVERY;

--REVEALED HIMSELF AS CONSERVATIVE ON DOCTRINAL QUESTIONS IN RECOMMENDING AGAINST ANY COMPROMISE, HOWEVER SMALL, "IN THE SPHERE OF SOCIAL SUPERSTRUCTURE," CITING THE INCLINATION OF GEORGIANS TO EXPLOIT EVEN A MINOR CONCESSION INTO A FULL-SCALE IDEOLOGICAL RELAPSE;

--ACCEPTED CREDIT, WITH LITTLE OR NOT MODESTY, FOR HIS ACHIEVEMENT IN CLEANING UP THE MESS HE FOUND IN GEORGIA UPON TAKING OVER FROM HIS PREDECESSOR.

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AMEMBASSY BERLIN
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AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
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USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA
AMCONSUL LENINGRAD
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMCONSUL MUNICH
USMISSION NATO
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USLO PEKING
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
USDEL MBFR VIENNA

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10. TYPICALLY, SHEVARDNADZE RAISED THE ART OF PRAISING
BREZHNEV TO A NEW DIALECTICAL LEVEL, FIRST BY DENYING ANY
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INTENTION OF PRAISING HIM, AND THEN OF PROCEEDING TO DISCUSS
BREEZHNEV'S PERSONALITY AS A LEGITIMATE SUBJECT FOR BUSINESS-LIKE
DISCUSSION AT THE CONGRESS. AMONG THE RELEVANT VIRTUES
SHEVARDNADZE PRAISED ON THIS LEVEL: HE DOES NOT "WRAP HIMSELF
IN THE CLOAK OF A SUPERMAN"; HE IS SKILLFUL IN CREATING AN ATMOSPHERE
OF MUTUAL CONFIDENCE "WHICH EXCLUDED BLIND FEAR, EGOISM, EVNY, AND
SUSPICION"; "HE CREATES CONDITIONS WHERE ALL CAN THINK
CREATIVELY."

11. G.A. ALIYEV, FIRST SECRETARY OF AZERBAYDZHAN CP: IN A SPEECH
CONSISTING ENTIRELY OF STEROTYPED PHRASES, CLICHES, AND HACKNEYED
IMAGES, AND DEVOID OF ANYTHING ORIGINAL, ALIYEV PRAISED BREZHNEV,
REPORTED THE SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION OF THE NINTH PLAN, AND PROMISED
NEW SUCCESSES IN THE FUTURE. HIS UNCRITICAL PRAISE EXTENDED TO
BREZHNEV'S FOREIGN POLICY, WHERE THE ONLY OPPOSITION TO THE PROGRAM
OF PEACE ALIYEV MENTIONED WAS THAT POSED BY THE MAOISTS. UNLIKE
MOST OF THE OTHER FIRST SECRETARIES WHO FOUND FAULT WITH THE
PERFORMANCE OF THE CENTRAL MINISTRIES AND AGENCIES IN MOSCOW,
ALIYEV GAVE FULL CREDIT FOR AZERBAYDZHAN'S SUCCESSES TO THE
"TREMENDOUS AID OF THE PARTY AND GOVERNMENT."

12. A.P. ALEKSANDROV, PRESIDENT OF THE USSR ACADEMY OF
SCIENCES: ALEKSANDROV BEGAN BY ACKNOWLEDGING THE JUSTICE OF CRITICISM
REGARDING POOR COLLABORATION BETWEEN SCIENCE AND INDUSTRY. IMPRO-
VED RESULTS, HE NOTED, REQUIRE MORE MODERN LABORATORIES, MORE AND
BETTER CALCULATORS, AND CONTINUING FREE EXCHANGES WITH FOREIGN
SCIENTISTS. AS FOR IMPROVING THE INPUT OF SCIENCE INTO THE
ECONOMIC SECTOR, ALEKSANDROV RECOMMENDED CLOSE COORDINATION BETWEEN
"ACADEMIC INSTITUTES" AND "APPLIED SCIENCE INSTITUTES". IN FREQ-
UENTLY CITING THE VIEWS ON SCIENCE EXPRESSED BY BREZHNEV ON THE
250TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SOVIET ACADEMY OF SCIENCES AND AT THE 25TH
CONGRESS, ALEKSANDROV SEEMINGLY SOUGHT TO PORTRAY HIS VIEWS TO BE
CONSONANT WITH THOSE HELD BY BREZHNEV. IN ANY CASE, ALEKSANDROV
CLEARLY AND PERSUASIVELY ARGUED IN DEFENCE OF PURE SCIENTIFIC
RESEARCH AS THE PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY OF THE ACADEMY, AND AS AN

ACTIVITY FULLY JUSTIFIABLE ON ITS OWN MERITS. HE CITED RESEARCH IN PURE PHYSICS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND NUCLEAR ENERGY AS AN EXAMPLE OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PURE AND APPLIED SCIENCE, AND PROJECTED SIMILAR APPLICATIONS OF PURE SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH FOR THE TECHNOLOGY OF THE FUTURE. ALEKSANDROV DEFINED ENERGY AS THE FIELD OF HIGHEST NATIONAL PRIORITY FOR A COMPLEX LONG-CONFIDENTIAL

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TERM RESEARCH EFFORT.

13. S.F. MEDUNOV, FIRST SECRETARY, KRASNDOAR KRAYKOM: MEDUNOV'S SPEECH WAS NOTEWORTHY PRIMARILY FOR HIS TOUGH LINE TOWARDS MAOISM. MAOISTS HAVE REVEALED THEMSELVES TO BE IN THE SAME CAMP WITH "THE BLACK FORCE OF IMPERIALIST REACTION", HE SAID, ADDING THAT THEY ARE ENEMIES OF MARXISM-LENINISM AND "SPLITTERS" OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' MOVEMENT. THE PARTY, THE SOVIET PEOPLE, AND ALL PEACELOVING FORCES FULLY AND UNANIMOUSLY SUPPORT THE CC REPORT'S CALL FOR "A DECISIVE STRUGGLE WITH MAOISM". MEDUNOV ALSO PRAISED THE WORK OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, POLITBURO AND SECRETARIAT AND NOTED IN PARTICULAR THAT THE CC WAS CONSISTENTLY INCREASING THE ROLE OF LOCAL PARTY ORGANIZATIONS.

14. A.B. GEORGIVYEV, FIRST SECRETARY, ALTAY KRAYKOM: GEORGIEV'S SPEECH COMBINED CONTINUOUS, EXTRAVAGANT PRAISE FOR BREZHNEV PERSONALLY WITH DETAILED CRITICISMS OF AGRICULTURAL SHORTCOMINGS. HIS ONLY COMMENT ON FOREIGN POLICY RECOUNTED THE EXPERIENCE OF AN ALTAY CITIZEN WHO TRAVELED TO THE WEST AND WAS APPALLED BY WHAT HE SAW, IN CONTRAST TO THE PROPAGANDA BOTH FROM WESTERN AND FROM PEKING RADIO. GEROGIYEV PRAISED THE SUCCESS OF THE 24TH CONGRESS' PEACE PROGRAM, NOTING BREZHNEV'S PERSONAL CONTRIBUTION TO THIS POLICY.

15. IN THAT PORTION OF HIS SPEECH DEVOTED TO AGRICULTURE, GEORGIYEV APPROVINGLY NOTED THE RECENT SUCCESSES OF ALTAY WHEAT PRODUCTION, HE PRAISED THE MARCH 1965 PLENUM WHICH PROVIDED THE BASIS FOR SUCCESSFULLY USING MORE AGRICULTURAL SPECIALISTS. HE CAME OUT FOR AGRO-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEXES AND MORE CONCENTRATION GENERALLY, AND CRITICIZED THE MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE AND THE MINISTRY OF TRACTOR AND AGRICULTURAL MACHINE BUILDING FOR NOT PROVIDING THE MEANS FOR COMBATTING WIND AND WATER EROSION. HE NOTED THAT 20 YEARS AFTER THE INITIATION OF THE VIRGIN LANDS PROGRAM IT WAS A GREAT SUCCESS, BUT THE SUCCESS WOULD HAVE BEEN GREATER IF THE MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE HAD COME UP WITH BETTER SEEDS, AND WAS BETTER AND MORE EFFICIENTLY ORGANIZED. HE ALLUDED TO SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND PARTICULARLY TO THE PROBLEM OF KEEPING YOUTH ON THE FARM. HE ALSO CRITICISED THE WEAKNESSES OF AND LACK OF INVESTMENT IN THE KRAY'S FOOD, MEAT, MILK AND LIGHT INDUSTRIAL BRANCHES.

16. YA. P. RYABOV, FIRST SECRETARY, SVERDLOVSK OBKOM: WHILE
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RYABOV PRAISED BREZHNEV REPEATEDLY, HE TENDED TO FOCUS ON THE WORK OF THE CENTRAL PARTY ORGANS--THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, POLITBURO AND SECRETARIAT. FOR EXAMPLE:

--ON FOREIGN POLICY, HE SAID THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, IN AN UNUSUALLY COMPLEX INTERNATIONAL SITUATION, WORKED OUT A SYSTEM OF CAREFULLY CONSIDERED, FARSIGHTED MEASURES DIRECTED TOWARD REALIZATION OF THE PEACE PROGRAM;

--RYABOV NOTED THAT CC PLENUMS WERE CONDUCTED IN A BUSINESSLIKE, CREATIVE ATMOSPHERE, AND WERE CHARACTERIZED BY UNITY OF THE CC MEMBERS,

WHO WERE IN TURN FIRMLY CONVINCED THAT THE LENINIST POLITBURO WAS CONSISTENTLY AND CONFIDENTLY FULFILLING THE DECISIONS OF THE 24TH CONGRESS;

--ON ECONOMIC MATTERS, HE SAID THAT ERRORS IN PLANNING CAPITAL INVESTMENT HAD ADVERSELY AFFECTED FERROUS METALLURGY IN HIS OBLAST. DEPARTMENTS OF THE CPSU CC INVESTIGATED THE PROBLEM ON THE SCENE AND RESOLVED THE PROBLEM, WHICH DEMONSTRATED THE EFFECTIVENESS OF CC'S CONCRETE LEADERSHIP.

17. RYABOV IMPLICITLY CRITICIZED GOSPLAN AND CENTRAL MINISTRIES BY CALLING UPON THEM TO MAKE MORE RESOURCES AVAILABLE FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND MODERNIZATION OF EXISTING ENTERPRISES. HE SEEMED TO CONTRAST THE POOR WORK OF THE GOVERNMENT ECONOMIC APPARATUS WITH THE GOOD WORK OF THE PARTY APPARATUS BY THEN EMPHASIZING THAT "WE CONSTANTLY RECEIVE THE NECESSARY ASSISTANCE FROM THE CC, THE POLITBURO, THE SECRETARIES OF THE CC AND LEONID I'ILICH BREZHNEV PERSONALLY."

18. RYABOV SEEMED DEFENSIVE IN SPEAKING OF AN "ANTI-SOVIET CAMPAIGN" WHICH (HE CLAIMED) CLEARLY WAS STEPPED UP AFTER THE CSCE SUMMIT. ATTEMPTS TO SLANDER THE SOVIET SYSTEM WILL, HE SAID, BE REJECTED BY THE SOVIET PEOPLE, WHO MANIFEST "REVOLUTIONARY STEADFASTNESS, POLITICAL VIGILANCE, DEVOTION TO THE LENINIST PARTY AND TO THE BELOVED FATHERLAND." STOESSEL

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SALT TWO GENEVA
LENINGRAD
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